Carangas-
Chipaya

/126 cont./

Tanata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuama wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	masthil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mă-tĭl'a
father	hep
mother	mă
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

Campaign—
Chipaya

/127 cont./

601 father's brother (younger) pʰʊ-tata, pʰʊtata

mother's brother tata, tuʃ'u, tuʃ'uta

father's sister ʊɲkaya, pʰʊ-mama

mother's sister mataʰʊ'a, pʰʊ-mama

son moʰ, (wet-moʰ: "my son")

daughter up to ten years old ʃiʃ, muh (wet-muh: "my daughter"), wet-wawa (lit.: "female child")

adult daughter ʊɲʰ-muh, ʊɲʰ-ʊʰ

grandson, granddaughter tuta

[111] brother hiʃa (Aymara)

brother (name a sister uses) wiki

younger brother ʊɲʰ (wet-ʊɲʰ: "my younger brother")

elder brother pʊʰ hila (lit.: "big brother")

[112] sister ʊuʃ'aka (Aymara)

younger sister tayiki ʊuʃ'aki, chuiku ʊuʃ'aki, pʰʊ-ʊuʃ'aki (lit.: "little sister"), ʊuʃʰ

older sister paka-ʊuʃ'aki (lit.: "big sister")

brother's son paʰ-ʊuʃ-uʃʰa, ʊuʃ-ʃ-maʰ, ʊɲʰ-ʊaʊ

sister's son ʊuʃ'aka-maʰ

brother's daughter ʊuʃ-ʃ-muh, paʰ-ʊʰ

sister's daughter ʊuʃ'aka-muh, paʰ-ʊuʃ'aka-ʊʰ, ʊuʃ'a-kaʊa-waʊaʃa, mataʰʊ'a-ʊʰa-uʃa

male first cousin hiʃaʃ-hʰa-uʃa

female first cousin ʊuʃ'aka-hʰa-ʊʰ

single woman turtaka

married woman tuɲ

a man calls his brother's wife: tuʃi, t'uʃi

a wife calls her brother's wife: tauʃ (wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

Unknown--29 E-5 (1830-1831) 1931, 1936 Sp'an Ipo Sp'an

Carrington-
Chirapa

/127 cons./

60] a wife calls her cons's husband: cun (con-cun) "my brother-in-law"

/128/ a husband calls his wife's father: cuñor, cuñor tay

a husband calls his wife's mother: cuñ'ita

son-in-law ese

daughter-in-law ecuñ'o, econ'o

husband of a remarried mother: ey tē

wife of a remarried father: eiri-mā

[97] male cousin (without distinguishing degree) primiri-hijo (Spanish and Aymara)

[97] female cousin (without distinguishing degree) primiri hui'aka (Spanish and Aymara)

man °aā

young man ipa

child (boy) ckaita-cūñ

child (girl) ckaita-cūñi'o, ckaita-ecuna-cūñi'o, b'ai-ui, ui

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metal cutting. Some of the pins (topus) which women use to fasten their clothing on the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from ancient graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [839]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Arowayni, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a square mouth and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a heavy-cut lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Manos, metates, and hammers made of a round stone bound with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, bolas poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening bolas bindings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [439]

Musical instruments.—All Uru musical instruments are duplicates of those of the Aymara: the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipin, and kenakena), fingerdrum (kena mani-mamka, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, sikuchuluki), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukulele or charango. 534 [197] [237]

COMMERCE

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for beans and dried potatoes (chuñu), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The Uru are grouped into cyths, named Titicana, Kotsis, Kema, and Kulpa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achui (corresponding to /nos anan-saya), and zuzucha (/nos mara-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 198 621 616 601

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

Religion

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 200 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncongruous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a *year* or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pacpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *tacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g.*, *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

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they are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya; their Uru names are ti ačai; xanača. They may be translated by their Aymara equivalents: "upper section" and "lower section."

Posnansky adds information for the Uru of Iruitu:

In the village of Iruitu may be noted—although somewhat blurred at the present time, as with the "markas" of the Aymara—the typical division into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* (*Manasaya* and *Arasaya*) which they call *Manka* and *Arrojo*. However, the real *Manasaya* for them is the *Titicana-Tojsa*, where the Aymaras live, to the east, in the high and mountainous lands. The expression *tojsa* has in their language the meaning "man of the *tierra firme*" (tierra seca).[37]

Kinship System. I collected the following kinship system at Ancoaqui:

father = apai	mother = ataloi
brother = čičai	sister = kaiyo
son = ampsuwa	daughter = tukunwau-us
husband = lukwawa	wife = tukunwawa
older brother = tuskačič	older sister = kustaknai
middle brother = moraščič	middle sister = moranai
younger brother = ačkačišk	younger sister = ačknai
father of father = texsapačani, tapsapačai	father of mother = tatale-ep
mother of father = apsma	mother of mother = [t]ata-lama, apsma
father of wife = ačičai	father of husband = texsapa
mother of wife = tatalama	mother of husband = tapsma
brother of wife = atalači'či	brother of husband = čičai
sister of wife = senai	sister of husband = čip'i
brother of father = sičisč, tululu	brother of mother = sičisč
sister of father = nai	sister of mother = nai
cousin (male) = [us]tululu, čuktululu	cousin (female) = malaqo
brother-in-law = wasi	sister-in-law = nai
husband of sister = tisunsmataluku	
son-in-law = wasi	daughter-in-law = wasi
son of son = alči [?Aymara], karwa	daughter of son = tukun-alči
son of daughter = učusa	daughter of daughter = usasu
son of brother = tičiš-suwa	daughter of brother = tičičimat'
son of sister = tičičsuwa	daughter of sister = tičipamat.

male baby, little boy = uč-šon-čula, učusa, ukala; little boy = uč usa; boy = usa; youth = čauk usa; young man = towi, tou; man (homo) šoñi; (vir) tosa.

[37] Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 87. Cf. *idem* (JSAP 27), pp. 91, 100, 107. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 70.

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601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 598 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*huču*) or *si:a quir-*178 *kitha* (*kirkiš'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 527 533 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 535 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.